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FROM:

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5 Oct 1961

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OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment)

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ZELENSKY was with same exposition

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PLEASE RETURN THE ATTACHED FOR SR/CA/E AERODYNAMIC Files.

Reports will be filed in

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P.S. Show are details of other conversations with Subject and file in 74-124-29/3 dated 25

There is no longer an done in SR/6/B10. So are now placed in 'SR Travel Input Pn and machine runs come out once a month.

If you have any call Hil - 6656.

SUBJECT: BOLBOTENKO, Olekii (Aleksander) (Patronimic unknown)

SOURCE : Various (RR, AI, IP)

DATE : 6-12 Oct., 1961

PLACE : Montreal, Que.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: 5, 11-6 f., 180-190 lbs, 30-32 years of age, black hair combed back, gray-brown ~~eyes~~ eyes, black brows, straight nose, long face, well built, handsome, good manners, smooth.

BI : Born in ^{Kiev} Eastern Ukraine, ¹⁹²⁹ resident of Kiev. In 1941 resided 'probably with parents) in Tarnopol, attended school in Lviv, studied law, received his law degree at the University of Kiev. Works for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ukrainian SSR, Kiev. Abroad for the first time.

LANGUAGES: Ukrainian, Russian, English

ADDRESS : Kiev, MZS (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

At the exhibition and elsewhere did not wear the emblem USSR on his lapel, as other Soviets did. Was always centrally located in the largest hall with machinery displayed around the walls. In the middle of this hall was a table with Soviet propaganda literature. BOLB. was always around there, sitting, standing or walking. Visitors were referred to him by other Soviet officials at the exhibition for information, particularly on political matters concerning Ukraine.

8 Oct., 1961 Thor P. was referred to Bolb. by another Soviet official, who pointed out Bolb. and said that he BOLB. does not have a steady job at the exhibition, has more time and could talk to people. THOR approached BOLB. and asked whether he speaks Ukrainian. BOLB. confirmed and informed that he was from Kiev, that he was in 1941 in Tarnopol, went to school in Lviv and in Kiev. He asked THOR about Canada, how is the life, how much he earns, if that is enough for living, what newspapers (Ukrainian) are being published in Canada. THOR replied that there are many Ukrainian newspapers and that there is even a Communist paper "OUR LIFE". A group of visitors mostly Ukrainian emigres gathered around and everybody asked questions. The questions concerned lack of Ukrainian inscriptions and explanations on the exhibits, Russification of schools in Ukraine et cetera, which BOLB. explained according to the official line. Later on THOR asked BOLB. about a post card with a view of Kiev, which BOLB. brought and gave to him. Thor then asked for his signature and BOLB. hesitated, but complied and signed the post card. To Thor's question he said that he works

25 October 1961

for the Ministry of Security in Kiev, that he is new there because he works there only for 6 months. (Ihor was asked explicitly about this Ministry of Security but he insisted that BOLB. said so). Again more people gathered. Bolbotenko was asked questions again. What position does Kirichenko now hold? Why was he shot? Bolb. explained that Kirichenko was not shot, but he is now holding a position in the transport, which is one grade below that he held before. One of the old emigres asked a question: "And noboty asked you to defect yet?" to which another added "If he wanted to defect he could do it today, he has his own brains". BOLB. replied that he is not going to defect because he wants to live together with the Ukrainian people. To the question who is now the premier of Ukraine BOLB. explained that SHCHERBYTSKYI and added "he who is a young and very able man, our man". Kalchenko was old and has to go, you know." Ihor asked then questions why there is no Ukrainian Ministry of Finance and why the Russians are in such great superiority. BOLB. replied that it is true that the Russians are superior now, but sometime in the future the Ukrainians will balance out the Russians in Ukraine. Is it possible for Ukraine to become an independent nation, Ihor asked. Yes, replied BOLB. Ukraine can cede, but "we go together with Russians and that is good". Ihor proposed to BOLB. a ball pen as a souvenir and in exchange for a post card he gave him, but BOLB. refused to accept it. He also said to Ihor, referring to the previous conversation about defection: "I don't understand these people, they must have completely been brought up differently." He refused to go for a drink with Ihor.

Al also had a short conversation with BOLB. He remarked that the exhibition show only Russia. Bolb then said "and you wanted blue and yellow color (flags) here?" Al replied, "No, I wanted at least that you had herethe red and ~~yellow~~ blue color", and added that he did not intend to needle anybody and was pointing out only the truth. BOLB. was apologetic, and said that he knew that Al's intentions were not bad. They talked also about Lviv and Al remarked at the end that it all depends on "you, the Ukrainians inside, how Ukraine will look". BOLB. thinking that Al was speaking with some disregard to Ukrainians inside, protested and said that the

future of Ukraine should be also of concern to the emigration and to all Ukrainians. AI explained that of course there is a great concern of the emigration in this matter and what he wanted to say was that the Ukrainian people in Ukraine are in the first place responsible about the future of Ukraine and that the emigration can do very little about it. BOLB. was satisfied. Finally ~~him~~ ^{BOLB./} said that after the exhibition is over he and others plan to go to Toronto and to Niagara Falls. AI gave him his address and telephone no in Toronto and asked him to come to see him. BOLB. said he will try

10 Oct., 1961 RR approached BOLB. and asked him about an interview for the CBC. He explained that he had already an interview with CHUBAROV, but he does not speak well Ukrainian and makes a bad impression for the Radio listeners. BOLB. said that he is a "small fry" why not to go to the director, or if not why not to YAKIMENKO, who is a Ukrainian and is in the Commercial division the deputy of the chief. He himself does not much time right now, because right now some new people arrived, they are at the Airport and he BOLB. has to bring them over here, by sending to the Airport an automobile. He also said to a question that he is not a specialist in the field of technical matters and machinery "my specialty is completely different" he said. He did not elaborate. BOLB. was trying to help RR to locate YAKIMENKO and when they moved around they met two people who wanted to go for lunch. BOLB. said to them OK I will bring ~~in~~ to lunch (that means that BOLB. was ~~himself~~ escorting others.) It was interesting to notice that at one occasion when there stood ERIGADNEW (director of the Soviet Exhibition), YAKIMENKO and BOLBOTENKO they spoke to ERIGADNEW in Russian and among themselves in Ukrainian.

NOTE: BOLBOTENKO is a very intelligent young man, with a penetrating mind. Very clean and well groomed. It looks like he has in himself something Ukrainian which is unusual. Looks like a man who is still too young to be spoiled by his bureaucratic career. His behavior and conversations has a "diplomatic touch", does not get excited and answers

SUBJECT: Soviet Exposition at the Montreal Trade Fair (Additional Report)

DATE: 25 Oct 1961

ZELENSKIY, Pimen Gordeyevich
6.10 Dec 13 Prof D.O.B. 1916

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ZELENSKY Pimen Hordiyevych
English Lecturer at
L'Esperance Francaise
U.V.U.

1. This is a summary report on talks of R with ZELENSKIY, Pimen Hordiyevych on 13 Oct 1961 from 16.00-16.45 at the Exhibition hall, Rue de Berri, and of R and Carl with ZELENSKIY and DOLBOCHENKO (Clergy) at R's private house on 15 Oct 1961 from 11.00-11.30 during their visit and lunch with drinks. Part 1
Henderson

2. On 13 Oct 1961 when visiting the Soviet Exposition R was approached by ZELENSKIY who asked him for a talk. R gladly agreed and they talked for approx. 45 minutes (16.00-16.45 hrs) at one of the stands in the Soviet Exhibition hall mostly being undisturbed by other people.

Zeleskiy asked R to explain to him what in practical terms means "all-United and independent Ukraine" for which his friends are fighting. He listened carefully to R's explanations and made no comments restricting himself to specification of his own questions of programmatical material of Ukrainian liberation movement. Then ZELENSKIY asked R what in particular, beside an establishment of Ukrainian diplomatic and consular representations, the Kiev government would have to do in order to satisfy not only R's friends but all Ukrainians in Canada. He made only meagre, flesh comments to R's "requirements" and desiderata and it was obvious that his main purpose was to elicit as much a comprehensive material as possible on this subject from his opponent, and from the latter's point of view. In some points when R strongly criticised present Russification policy in the Ukraine ZELENSKIY did either slightly meagrely deny it or simply kept silent.

3. On 15 Oct 1961, according to prior arrangement of R of 13 Oct 1961, at 10.30 hrs R met DOLBOCHENKO and ZELENSKIY on the corner of St. Catherine and Drummond in Montreal and he brought them to the French Restaurant on the opposite corner ("Deux Polices") where Carl was waiting. From there after DOLBOCHENKO's final decision ZELENSKIY who was somewhat reluctant, agreed to go to R's home where they stayed for lunch. DOLBOCHENKO drank little, ZELENSKIY liked it more. During their visit they were separated for 10-15 minutes in order to enable R and Carl to talk to each of them without witnesses on. For that purpose they were shown in turn R's library and garage in the cellar. Both were given presents and promised to reciprocate by asking R and Carl to a restaurant some time in the future after their return from Niagara Falls where they were going next day. For final arrangement DOLBOCHENKO and ZELENSKIY promised to phone R "in due time", probably on Thursday, the 19th of October. They failed, however, to keep their promise and only on 21 Oct 1961 at 22.45 hrs Carl "succeeded" in contacting ZELENSKIY by telephone at his hotel ("La Salle", Room 515, Drummond, Montreal). ZELENSKIY apologised for not having called R, excused himself with too much work in the harbor and told Carl that he was going to stay in Montreal for another 2-3 weeks. Before his departure he promised to ring up R and Carl, his promise. According to Z - some of his friends had in the meantime departed but he himself should be the last to leave, with his superiors. ZELENSKIY was also still in Montreal but he did not see him for the last few days because B. was not working in the harbor. Z could not be "induced" to have a drink with Carl, same evening.

25 October 1961

1. BO BATECKO, (Bilay) - aged 32, Ukrainian, born in Kiev, Ukraine, party member, private address: Klovsk. old., Kiev - Myatotsynskiy r-n pos. Chabany, opytnoye khoziaistvo UNIZ, married, his wife is Lugian, has a son aged 4 1/2, figures as an official ("press-attaché" of the Press-department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukrainian SSR.

B's father with whom he lives, should have been at one time the owner of the state farm from which came Ukrainian DEMCHENKO. On this occasion B's father was visited by Ukrainian writer Ivan LE who described later on Demchenko's story in one of his works. B's father was on very friendly terms with Ivan LE. His father knew also KIRICHENKO with whom he attended the same class in the high school. B's father had foretold that KIRICHENKO would not stay too long on the party-top because of his dictatorial, intractable, and quarrelsome features. His opinion about K. was very negative on the whole. B himself did not know K.

1944-47 B. lived in Ternopil and then in Chortkiv, West Ukraine. 1950-52 he studied law in Lvov and before that in Kiev. 1953-61 served with the Army as first lieutenant in capacity of military attorney (voyennyi prokuror). 1961 (six months ago) he joined the Press-department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kiev and his rank he called "press-attaché". His main job was to maintain liaison between Kiev -radio and the Ministry. Had no pr or diplomatic education or experience. Was going to ask for transfer to the Dept. of Political Affairs (called simply General or Political Dept.) in the Ministry because he did not like his present job. Seemed to be rather poorly familiarized with situation in his Ministry itself and with Soviet diplomatic service in general. A typical KGB officer, law-educated, intelligent, sympathetic, alert, well poised. Talked slowly and little, avoided phrases. In talks was ZHUBINSKI's superior. Mentioned to R and Carl that all he was told by them he will report on in Kiev because "he was sent for that abroad".

B. claimed to be for the first time abroad. Refused to make any hints as to his eventual coming to the West again. Read Ukrainian emigre papers in Kiev. Did not know Shchepochko from his Ministry. Visited two American Expositions in Moscow and criticized them because "they failed to show heavy machinery and real America". On the other hand praised the Czechoslovak exposition in Moscow of 1961 "which was much better".

2. ZHUBINSKI, Pinon Hordiyevych - was unwilling to give his private address, aged 45, party member, lives in Lviv, lecturer of English at Ivan Franko's University and member of the Examination Board for admission of students. Claimed that in 1961 they refused many students from Russian SFR and other non-Ukrainian republics because of their lacking knowledge of Ukrainian. Married. Has a son aged 14, and a daughter aged 10. Claimed to know very well the Carpathians where he went very often on University business. His task was to recruit new students from backward regions of the Carpathians. Still some anti-semitic features in his expressions on Jewish population in the Ukraine. According to Z. the Jews had no sympathy for Ukrainians and as an example told the following "joke": A little Jewish boy points to the Mykolaytskiy's monument in Kiev and asks his mother who is he. His mother replies that this is a leader of a people who has lived here at one time. Z. "a supplementary comment to that was that "even to-day" the Jews still continued to neglect and neglect Ukrainian people.

7. UDOLYKHENKO. Known very well to B. "A good politician" and "trusted by the Party".

8. ICHCHANYANYI. A new star which rises at the cost of Malchenko's eclipse. Spokesman of younger communist generation. "Good Ukrainian and good communist". Very respected by his colleagues.

9. B. M. tried to counteract B's and Carl's charges of Russification by pointing out to the "fact" that even in Moscow there were many Ukrainians in sensitive positions and wielding a great power like, for instance, KORNILYCH. According to B. the Russians complain that they are being pushed out by "chakhly" (Ukrainians) in Moscow.

10. Berlin-crisis. Z. was rather emphatic about necessity to regulate finally the German problem 16 years after the war had ended. The Soviet Union will never resign from Germany, or as he then corrected himself, from East Germany. "We never let the Germans fight us again as in two previous wars and therefore all the Western proposals, incl. disengagement - are for us worthless. Germany is not Austria and the West should bear it in mind". Khrushchev wants to settle German problem once and for all but the West is trying to sabotage his constructive plan. When countered with opposite arguments Z. tried to defend his position by simply stating: "I can assure you that nobody in the Soviet Union wants war".

11. According to both (B&Z) it is still possible to get a loan from the Bank for building a private home. The limit of the loan is 2,000 R.Rubel.

12. Since summer 1961 directors of Institutes have been "promoted" to the title of "Rector".

13. General situation. It is getting better every year. There are, of course, still shortages and deficiencies but they are unmountable. The basis for further improvement and development exists, this is the heavy industry. The Ukraine is one of the most industrialized countries and the Ukrainians are proud of that. Both were trying to explain all the negatives by the damage done by the WWII and requirements of building the heavy industry. When countered with opposite arguments repeated old slogans and praised the economic growth in general.

Stalin was a bad man but he also did very much good. They did not believe that a return to Stalinism were possible. Anti-party-group was of no importance and it will soon die out "naturally".

14. Sino-Soviet Relations. Z. claimed that there is no conflict between Moscow and Peking. On the contrary. He ridiculed the idea that Albania were backed by China and vice-versa, in their conflicting rivalry with Moscow.

SUBJECT : MEETING ZELENSKYI - BOLBOTENKO - RR

SOURCE : RR

DATE : 12 OCTOBER, 1961

PLACE : CADILLAC RESTAURANT, PEEEL STREET, MONTREAL, QUE.

TIME : 10.10 AM till 12.10 PM

According to previous arrangements RR waited at the corner of St. Catherine & Drummond Sts at 10 AM. At 10.05 ZELENSKYI came. RR asked if anybody else would come and ZEL. replied that BOLBOTENKO is coming soon. RR had with him a wallet which he wanted to present to ZEL. He told ZEL. that he had a little present for him and that it was probably better that he handed it to him right away, before Bolbotenko came. Zelenskyi accepted it without much ado. BOLBOTENKO approached them from another direction and all three headed toward PEEEL St., and RR lead them into the Cadillac Restaurant.

RR started the conversation by saying that he wanted to have a little talk with them, because it was impossible to talk at the exhibition. He wanted to talk to them because they are Ukrainians, not only because they use the Ukrainian language, but also because one has a feeling that they are real Ukrainians. He said that the presence of Ukrainians from the Soviet Union and casual conversations with them raised his spirits, because there are very rare opportunities for meetings like this. After a few friendly exchanges during which BOLBOTENKO remarked that he always speaks Ukrainian at home in Kiev RR developed a basis for the debate which went as follows: Here are Ukrainians from two parts of the world, they have something in common because they are Ukrainians. They Ukrainians from Ukraine state that there is a Ukrainian state, that Ukraine develops well in all directions, that the well being of the people increases and the Ukrainians abroad have a somewhat different view. They both (ZEL & BOLB.) often ask a question "what do the emigres want from us?" Let us talk along these lines and exchange views.

25 October 1961

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RR : Could you give me an answer whether under present Soviet conditions Ukraine really develops in the Ukrainian sense. We here know that we cannot build Ukraine from here but we are very interested in the development. Does Ukraine really exist and strive or is it only in your , Soviet papers and radio?

ZEL. BOLB.: It depends how one understands your question. Looking from the outside one can always see some negatives, but on the inside Ukraine exists and went far ahead, much farther than in the 1930s and in all directions . In schools and universities they teach much more Ukrainian language than then, more Ukrainian books are being published and economically and industrially Ukraine is now a power.

ZEL. Gave an example of himself as one who was going from village to village in the Carpathian Mountains asking and convincing people to send their children to school and he gave a recent statistic from the Lviv Ivan Franko University according to which the enrollment at that University for the year 1961/1962 shows 86% Ukrainians, 10% Russians and the rest other nationalities like Jews, Poles et cetera.

RR discussed the economic development in Ukraine and switched to international recognition of Ukraine and to diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Without diplomatic relations, he said, a state is not an independent state. The Ukrainian emigres think that Ukraine, without diplomatic relations, is a colony of Russia, because it is not sufficient that the Soviet Union as the whole represents Ukraine and her interests in the economic and political sense.

BOIBOTENKO: In this direction we are taking some steps. This problem is being discussed on the inside. We have taken steps to open a Ukrainian Consulate in Toronto, but the Canadian Government and others too don't agree. When this subject is discussed in Kiev the majority opinion is that foreign missions are necessary.

RR: That is a positive thing and having missions abroad Ukraine would come to the position she held in the 1920s when she had diplomatic missions abroad.

ZEL: That is true but at that time Ukraine had only 6 ministries and now she

has over 10.

RR: There are 16 ministries now , but what about the Army? On paper there is a Ministry of Defence, but in reality....

No answer.

RR: The economy is strong , yes, but it is directed from Moscow. And foreign trade, what about it, Ukraine does trading with foreign countries, but all goes through Moscow and who knows if this is to the advantage of Ukraine?

ZEL.: It is not exactly so. We have here at the exhibition a man who is a representative from Moscow in Kiev. He is a good man and one can cooperate with him, he does not make difficulties ~~and~~ , it depends on a man. (He switched the whole problem to personalities)

RR.: Let us take the aspect of culture. Numbers of published copies of books and magazines in Ukrainian language is very low. Even such a book as Udovychenko's has not been published in sufficient numbers. Read your papers and you will find that people are complaining of shortages of books and newspapers and when some of these books are available abroad , in Canada or America, the emigres get a well supported idea that the books are published for the emigration primarily. Look yourselves, do the books suffice for even the libraries alone. You said there are over hundred thousand libraries in Ukraine and when a book is published in the amount of 5,8 or even 20 thousand copies is that enough?

(Both looked depressed and did not give any answer)

DOIB: Your remarks and suggestions we shall discuss and we will take them into consideration.

RR: I know that we here and you there wanted to do something good for Ukraine and I think there is a basis for it, regardless of our convictions.

ZEL: ~~Surrogates~~ I see it this way: we want an economic development by which people would satisfy their needs, also we want cultural development, whatever people want,

and also political , inasmuch as this is possible, and the possibilities are big.

But you here must help us in one direction - avoid war.

RR: The Soviet press writes all the time that the Ukrainian emigres ^{day and night/} nurture only one single idea a war against the Soviet Union. It is not so. I could supply you with evidence from the Ukrainian newspapers here that the emigres do not want war, and we are against war and I myself write articles against war, having in mind that according to previous historic events Ukraine always suffered most from wars.

BOIB: We had the opportunity to get a few copies of "Homin Ukrainy" and "Novyi Shlachh" and there are articles encouraging war. A visitor to Ukraine ~~writes~~ gave a false account of what is going on in Ukraine, particularly about Russification, that Ukrainian language is being removed and I myself speak Ukrainian at home and I was studying law and had lessons in Ukrainian and court procedures in Ukraine are conducted in Ukrainian. (RR injected here "since 1960"). And by the way if this were so how could we know Ukrainian language and speak it , if we would not use it at home.

RR: But in the streets of cities

BOIB: There is no coercion, everybody does as he wishes.

ZE: And my daughter goes to a special school ~~with~~ in which the language of instruction is English.

They both stressed many times that shortcomings are but they should not be taken up so vigorously, because they are temporary and they are being removed in big strides. Everything is becoming better.

RR: Concerning the usage of Russian language in Ukraine people should have opinion and use their own Ukrainian language also in the streets. Look at the French in Canada.

(BOIB: Explained to ZEL. that the French were the first settlers in Canada and were later conquered by the British.) Visitors go to Ukraine and come back and they say that in the streets of Ukrainian cities one hears predominantly the Russian language. People should have opinion. (They both did not object, they remained silent)

p-5

RR: "...Maybe you have to make a report about this conversation, but I don't care, but I wouldn't like to see that after you return to Ukraine you would say that you met abroad such a bourgeois nationalist named Roman Sukinsynovych, but instead you could say that you were meeting with a ~~European~~ ^{c/} emigre -nationalist, a honest Ukrainian, who desires for ^Ukraine the same as we desire, only that he does not accept our system and our concept.

ZEL: We don't have to submit a report to anybody

DOLB: What do you say, I am not afraid now of any NKVD, I talk in complete freedom with friends

ZEL: Certainly we shall tell our friends about it. We don't have to be afraid about it at all.

ZEL. Complained that Ukrainian emigres hate the Ukrainians from the Soviet Ukraine ~~and~~ and constantly needle them.

RR Explained that it is not so, there is no hatred as such. He referred to the writing of Melnychuk in the Soviet press. These writings are full of hatred and libel. Melnychuk describes the emigres as agents of imperialists, traitors who get money from intelligence services and the fact is that those emigres, while publishing their papers live in very poor financial conditions. In some instances they might make mistake, but they believe that they serve well the Ukrainian cause. The truth is important everywhere and if there was a Ukrainian mission in Canada and other countries they would probably find out the truth and Melnychuk would be prohibited to write his lies (RR went into this intentionally to provoke them)

BOLB: I have told you already that efforts are being made to establish missions.

RR: May I write about it in the papers, particularly concerning the Ukrainian Consulate in Toronto.

BOLB: No, I have informed you personally about it, this is a matter of diplomatic conversations and for the time being it must stay out of the press.

RR: I abide by the journalistic ethics and I won't publish your information.

BOLB: Pointed out that Melnychuk takes the matters in such a way that those who are against the Soviet system are enemies and also those who are not for the Soviet system are enemies.

RR Such argumentation is not always successful. One should not always look in terms of black and white alone. At the present time when even Marxism-Leninism is being corrected (they both smiled) the thesis "either - or" is not right. Our thesis is that we must agree in some point. Even in such situation as this in which we personally are now. We talk, you are Soviet, maybe members of the party, maybe you have to write a report about our conversation, I don't care, and I am, as you say, a nationalist, but I consider myself a Ukrainian democrat, but we agree here at this table on one point...

Both: In what point?

ER: That we ~~are~~ do not agree, that we differ.

BOTH: (Somewhat startled) O yes, that is true.

ER: There is another point of agreement, however, and this point is that we are Ukrainians and we want that the Ukrainian people could develop freely and could preserve its identity. Are we in agreement or not?

Both: But we tried to convince in this point.

ER: Now, is it a place for Melnychuk here? He says that we are bandits, that we want to drop bombs on Ukraine, and we here agree here at this table. And I speak not only for myself. There are many like myself. And even those who need to think that they do it out of patriotic duty, because he thinks that you are servants of Moscow.

ZEL: Asked EOLB, who is Melnychuk. EOLB. explained that he read his writings at one time but not any more.

ER: And I tell you, I consider you as good Ukrainians and I think that you presenting yourselves well as Ukrainians, but you cannot do any good ~~xxx~~ with Melnychuk and others like him, because we know that he does it on order and that this order is not from the Ukrainian side. And people like Melnychuk only put sand into our Ukrainian engine.

ZEL: Was very pleased with this ~~expression~~ and said: I will tell it differently. We have also put some sand into your machine by telling you the truth about Ukraine.

EOLB: What strikes me in emigre papers is that they write that Shovchenko was arrested by Russians, that he was persecuted by Russians, that he was tortured by Russians and this all was done by the czarist regime.

ER: There are exaggerations, it is true, but we don't hide the truth that Russian liberals helped Shovchenko out of prison (ER gave an example of a Ukrainian rally in Canada where this fact was pointed out and emphasized by Ukrainian poet Malaniuk. He had also to explain who Malaniuk was)

BOTH: It is very interesting

RR And more, our thesis is not that we fight against the Russian people

BOLEB: What are you saying, read you papers here in Canada nad America.

RR: Your statement is a proof that you have no sufficient access to Ukrainian publications abroad. Any one of your editors takes an emigre paper, picks out an article which has propaganda character and writes an article of his own emphasizing how the Ukrainian emigres hate the Russians. But take a look at some other publications as a line of policy/ and articles where editors emphasize that Ukrainians who desire an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state do not wage war against the Russian people, because we do not believe that the Russian people want to enslave Ukraine, but we think that the Russian imperialist leadership which holds with iron hand the Russian as well as the Ukrainian peoples is responsible for the enslavement of the Ukrainian people. However, if the Russian people is to support its leadership in this respect they will be held responsible too.

BOLEB: Where is this written?

1/
RR: Listen, gentlemen, comrades, or how should I address you...

ZEL: Call as you wish.

RR: I don't want to create difficulties for Ukrainians, and I would not like to do this to the Russians either. But listen. At the exhibition ¹ approached aman and asked him if he is Ukrainian. He said no. I asked whether there are Ukrainians here and he said, O yes, there are Ukrainians and he pointed to one saying "this one is a khakhol" I won't tell you the name because I don't want to be an informant.

ZE: He probably did not mean anything insulting

BOLEB: And we could call him Katsap.

RR: But I talked to about 7 Ukrainians from the exhibition staff and no one said Katsap.

BOLEB: It is very interesting who said that.

RR: I don't want to mention any names, maybe he did not mean an insult, but back to the Russian problem. I don't want to put you in an awkward position and therefore,

tell me , please, if it is acceptable to you or not. I can select some articles from the Ukrainian press concerning questions which we discussed today and I could send them to you. You will read them and then you will tell yourselves what you think about them. And you on your part could send some material to me.

BOth: Agreed, and in what material are you interested?

RR: If you are interested, I will send you the material concerning our concept of Ukraine, ~~the material which we have discussed in the past and which we have written down~~ we shall show you our point of view concerning the place of Ukraine in the world. On the other hand I am interested in the material from you, dealing with the same problem. We are not interested in what kind of suit you wear, we are interested in your concept of Ukraine as a state and its place in the world. Do you have such a program? If you have, then we must learn about it and get acquainted with it. You with our and we with yours. Mathematicians say that even two parallel lines meet somewhere, so maybe our concepts , if you have one, have also some points of meeting together.

EOLB: And who are those people who express such ideas, who is behind it? Is it your group? (ZEL.)

RR.: I don't have any position in any group, I am a journalist.

ZEL: So what, are you an individualist?

RR: You must get a notion of a different world, where the press is independent. I want to have the right to criticize the group with which I agree, and I may sympathize more with one group than with the other. Such ideas as I expressed here are not by any means my own alone. They are expressed by people who are deeply involved in these problems and more concerned (ZEL: They are probably Ukrainians born abroad). You would be surprised to learn that this ideas and particularly the concept concerning the Russian people are being expressed by former participants in the Ukrainian liberation movement underground in Ukraine, those who organized the UPA. So, it is not true, what your papers write that we want to slauer all Russians and all the Poles.

This material I can send you.

Both: Please send it to us, ~~nothing~~ it will not inconvenience us at all.

(we shall not have any trouble)

At this point Belbotenko and Zelenskyi gave their addresses in Kiev and Lviv and RR gave his address in Montreal. All the addresses exchanged were office addresses.

ZEL: But we have here in Canada our progressive press.

RR: And that is your trouble. There ~~is~~^{is} mutual copying of articles in Radianska Ukraina and the progressive press here. You write that there are many Communists in Canada and this is not true. 85% of Ukrainians in Canada are not communists but nationalists and your and the progressive press write to the contrary. You say that the Canadian Government does not want diplomatic relations with Ukraine, but those who have some, if not large, influence upon the government are nationalists and not progressives. We have members of Parliament, we have a federal minister, we have senators and the communists don't have them at all. We would like ~~that~~^{to} the Canadian Government respect Soviet Ukraine as a state, if you say that such one exists, as Poland, and even little Albania is treated. But they cannot treat it as such when Ukraine is a part of Russia.

Both: This is not true, excuse us. Zelenskyi started to explain the structure of the Soviet Union, the friendship between nations and that Ukraine is an indivisible part of the Soviet Union. This was established in the 1920s by the will of the people and at the present time there is no use of changing the status.

RR: And here lies the difference between the emigres and you. We see that Ukraine is not only a part of the Soviet Union but also a part of Russia.

Both: Interrupted frequently and protested that this is not true that on the inside nobody speaks like that.

RR: The facts are that on the outside Ukraine is presented as part of Russia, and foreign papers write it like that. He gave an example with the McGill University

student meeting with 2 Russian students from Leningrad and that the Canadian press reported that Ukraine is Russia.

Both: The foreign press distorts the facts

RR: Let us take the inside story. In Ukrainian poetry in Ukraine there always must be Moscow, Russia, and Ukrainian poets must inject this subject constantly, like a batiushka repeats his halleluyah. I can eventually understand that Moscow is the center of the Soviet Union, but why Moscow in every poetry? The difference is this that our center is Kiev and yours is Moscow.

(No answer to this. "You know.": et cet.)

RR: When a Chinese poet writes about ~~Ukrainian~~ Shevchenko, I read one recently, he writes about Dnipro, about Kiev, about Ukraine. Not once he mentioned the party, Lenin or Moscow, and a Ukrainian who writes about Shevchenko immediately injects the party, Lenin, the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia and Shevchenko and the Ukrainian people is secondary. Because the Chinese has a sense of human dignity and Kalchenko Premier of Ukrainian SSR wrote in an English language booklet that Ukraine is a part of Russia. You say it is not true or that English or American papers distort the facts. But I can give you your text in which you will find it.

DOLB: You know when a Chinese writes he writes it from a different point of view, he looks differently at these matters. And we see the only way in cooperation with Russia, because only from there we have support.

RR: Those are the differences between us. We want that Ukraine be treated at least like Poland or little Albania.

JFL: But those states do not belong to the Soviet Union, that is a different procedure.

RR: If so then it is better to be a satellite or have the satellites included in the Soviet Union (intentional-provocative), why should it be such a big difference, are we inferior?

Zel: Isn't he arduous,.. but as a journalist you could help us when you write the

truth about Ukraine, as we have told you.

RR: What truth, I could write positively only when the shortcomings I have been pointing out here to you are corrected.

ZEL: You are a believer, you believe in God, you should help that the world is for peace and ~~agrimentalism~~ that war should be avoided, because Ukraine will be destroyed and we loose everything, what we have today.

RR: Listen, both of you, I believe in one thing alone, I believe in Ukraine and here in the emigration we all believe in the Ukrainian people and we want that it becomes something.

Both: But we want the same thing.

RR: So it is an agreement between us? Or is it like in Melnychuk writings? If there is an agreement then it should be for all of us like in Mykola Kulish's play Sonata the Patetique: "these are ~~much~~ times that a Ukrainian going to rest, must put under his head a bag full of thoughts about Ukraine, he must cover himself with thoughts about Ukraine and he must rise together with the sun with troubles about Ukraine".

Both were very impressed, they sat for a while looking at the table deeply in thought and ~~did not~~ said nothing. They only asked who was Kulish. RR explained that he was a Ukrainian Soviet playwright in the 1920s and 1930s who perished in the purges.

RR: Continued, such times are now and we must think like that and there is space enough here for you and for us and therefore I spoke to you, because I wanted to speak to live people from Ukraine, get their views and give my views and views of others like myself, Ukrainians here abroad, because I am not an exception. And I repeat, even those who are needling you, are doing it because they cannot properly express themselves, but they do it because they believe in Ukraine and you don't show them this Ukraine. We don't make a great issue about the system, but we suffer because Ukraine is an underdog (you know English and you know what it means) and you know that this is the fact, you know it better than I do. And by no means

I ~~mean~~ intend to needle you.

ZEL: We know it and believe that you speak from your heart.

RR: The time does not allow me to stay longer, I must go now and I am very happy that I had this conversation with you.

BOLB: I am very satisfied and pleased I had this conversation, because I did not have a talk like this one yet.

ZEL: I have not been abroad yet, this is the first time, and you Bolbotenko?

BOLB: I am for the first time too and therefore it is so interesting to have a talk like this.

RR: We should have talked more.

BOLB: We could talk more

RR: If you could come to my house we could have ~~12~~ more comfortable conversation

BOLB: We could come to your house, as soon as the exhibition is over, but under one condition that when you come to Kiev you will visit me there

ZEL: And I don't want to know you if you wouldn't visit me at home.

BOLB: This was a nice conversation, thank you for your nice reception.

CONVERSATION CONCERNING THE DEFECTORS

RR: When Ukrainian students are sent abroad they should emphasize that they are Ukrainians, some are coming here, maybe they are not Ukrainians and say that there is only Russia.

Both: That depends on a man

RR: And those who come here and whom they call here "those who have chosen freedom", look how the Russians do it. Kholchlov defects and in Australia Petrov, they write books and articles and say that in the Soviet Union the division into republics is only formal and that there is only Russia and nothing else.

Both: They have sold out their souls and they do and write what they are told here like this/

RR: There is no need to force them to make statements here, people here want to get from them true information, but these people obviously grew up in such a political climate of one and indivisible Russia. Nobody forces them to say that. And that this is true the best evidence is SEREDA, who defected in Vienna, you heard about him, and he stated that ~~for~~ Ukrainians are being persecuted.

BOLB: Yes I know about Sereda.

Zel; Who is he, what about him?

BOLB: SEREDA, son of Academician from Kiv, who is now in Lviv, he is a chemist and the son an electronics engineer, a young boy.

ZEL: O, yes, yes, in Vienna you said.

BOLB: Yes, he stayed in Vienna, he didn't want to go back

(They didn't comment anymore on SEREDA)

ZEL: There are all kinds of sold out souls and they talk all kinds of things, like your Klochko, who defected in Canada. He stated that he lived in poor conditions, that he was persecuted and he had a house of his own (a villa).

BOLB: And he left 3 wives behind and an automobile.

ZEL: 10.000 rubles he brought with him and exchanged for dollars that is 10.000 dollars.

BOLB: No, not yet, they don't want to exchange the key.

RR: What is to it, they say that he changed his name, is it possible and was it easy to do in the times of Stalin?

~~RR:~~

ZEL: But he is a Jew

RR: What do you say?

ZEL: Yes he is a Jew.

RR: But BENDITSKY is a Slavic name and so is Klochko, why change the name.

BOLB: There are no and were no difficulties in changing names, an application to court, pay the money and that is all. You know how many Shevchenkos there are now you can build a dam out of them.

ZEL: And imagine 10,000 new rubles that is 100,000 old ones, and he said that he was in financial need.

BOLB: And he had a car and wanted to sell but he had no time.